

# THE MILITANT

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## Washington Admits Arming Racist Congo Mercenaries

By Dick Roberts

The Johnson administration has openly admitted that it is arming white mercenary troops in the Congo and flying them into battle against insurgent Africans there. The admission was contained in a State-Department inspired story front-paged by the *New York Times*.

The story's obvious purpose was to persuade U.S. public opinion of two points: 1) Tshombe's regime has passed the crisis and is now defeating the Congolese rebels; and 2) Tshombe's use of white mercenary troops against his own people is justified.

The Oct. 5 story was in a form often used by the State Department when it wishes to give currency to certain views but dares not or prefers not to have specific government officials identified as stating those views. Thus Tad Szulc, the *Times* Washington correspondent to whom the story was given, does not name the administration spokesman or spokesmen but refers to "officials," "Washington's assessment," "the view here," etc. From the prominence given the story by the *Times* and from the authoritative tone of the statements quoted, the spokesman may well have been Secretary of State Rusk.

The article says: "The administration has been refusing public comment on its views on the use of white mercenaries in the Congo because of the criticism this has provoked elsewhere in Africa. However, officials have said privately that since no African government was willing to meet Premier Tshombe's appeals for troops to fight the rebels, the Congolese government has no choice but to use the mercenaries."

In other words, it isn't just that Tshombe can't get the Congolese people to support his repressive war — he can't get support from any black Africans. Tshombe's army has been recruited from ex-Nazis, South African white-supremacists, former French Legionnaires and Cuban counter-revolutionaries.

Last week the independent African nations' unanimous condemnation of Tshombe and his U.S. back-

ers was dramatized by the refusal of the conference of non-aligned nations, meeting in Cairo, even to allow him to attend despite his flying to Egypt. So instead of addressing the conference, the U.S.-Belgian puppet had to spend his three days there under virtual house arrest.

The U.S. has been supplying Tshombe with the latest weapons for counter-guerrilla warfare, including T-28 planes which have been declared the most effective in that kind of fighting in Laos and Vietnam. But support has not been limited to dollars and weapons. A U.S. paratroop contingent and a group of army counter-guerrilla specialists are also in the Congo.

Despite State Department ballyhoo about the success of Tshombe's forces, vast reaches of the Congo, including the city of Stanleyville, are in the hands of rebels adhering to the aims of the martyred anti-imperialist Congolese premier, Patrice Lumumba.

So it is clear that the State Department's aim in planting the *Times* story wasn't merely to acknowledge present U.S. intervention in the Congo but to "prepare" the public for stepped-up aid to Tshombe's forces.

A complication for Washington is that militant Afro-Americans in the U.S. feel a strong sense of solidarity with the Lumumbist rebels. Increased U.S. intervention would inevitably bring Negro GIs into combat with their African brothers, thus posing for the Pentagon the question of reinstituting lily-white military units for service there.

The Johnson administration undoubtedly prefers to wait until after the elections before making any large additional military commitments in the Congo. But should the protection of the huge new U.S. investments there require it, Johnson, with bi-partisan support, will not hesitate to throw large numbers of U.S. troops into this latest dirty war.

## Donkey and Elephant Make Like Lambs

## Johnson and Goldwater Decide It Pays To Pay Lip Service to Peace Sentiment

By William Bundy

OCT. 13 — Talking out of both sides of their mouths is an old story for Republican and Democratic presidential candidates, but in the current campaign this demagogic art has reached a new high regarding the question of war and peace.

Both Johnson and Goldwater have, of course, demonstrated sufficient warlike spirit to satisfy the imperialists whose interests they represent — Goldwater by his many jingoistic statements, Johnson by his bombing of North Vietnam. But both are now engaged in a remarkable competition to pass themselves off as men of peace.

At Avalon, California, on Aug. 26, Goldwater said he thought "talks with Red China might be profitable" to end the war in Vietnam. The Arizona Senator also has repeatedly proposed an end to

## Behind the GM Strike — Life on an Auto Assembly Line

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## Both Major Parties Waging Racist Campaigns in South

By Herman Chauka

It has been revealed that both major parties are circulating each other's literature in the South in a maneuver to win the racist vote. The Democrats are busy distributing copies of a little-known Republican folder which quotes Barry Goldwater in favor of integration. Fifty thousand copies are being handed out by Virginia Democrats alone.

The Republicans have responded to this tactic by reproducing and circulating in the South a Democratic brochure intended for the North which shows Johnson posing with Martin Luther King and other Negro leaders. A Republican spokesman said distribution of copies of this Democratic folder was expected to offset the "negative impact" of the Democratic exploitation in the South of the

Goldwater statement.

The Goldwater folder being distributed in the South by the Democrats was prepared by the Republicans for circulation in Washington, D.C., which is predominantly Negro. In addition to the pro-integration statements by Goldwater, it includes a compilation of Johnson's long record of voting and speaking against civil-rights legislation in the Senate. Thus the folder serves a double purpose for the Democrats in the South. It not only suggests that Goldwater really is pro-Negro but it also reminds the racists of Johnson's long record of service in their behalf.

The Oct. 9 *New York Times*, which revealed what the two parties are doing in the South, delicately characterized the operation as moves "to promote prejudicial support" for their respective candidates. It is, to put it a bit more bluntly, unadorned racism.

### Goldwater Pamphlet

This was pointed up by Sydney S. Kellam, Johnson's campaign manager in Virginia. He expressed confidence that the 50,000 facsimiles of the Goldwater pamphlet which his organization was distributing should make "serious inroads" in areas of the state that are strongholds of Goldwaterite racism.

Nor can it be argued that racist exploitation of the Goldwater statement is the work of Southern Democrats alone. In our issue of Oct. 5 we noted that Democratic vice-presidential aspirant Hubert Humphrey had used the Goldwater statement in a Sept. 29 speech to a pro-segregation crowd in Atlanta, Ga. Humphrey hypocritically claimed he was putting the spotlight on Goldwater's pro-integration statements only to show that the Republican candidate talked out of both sides of his mouth. But the obvious fact is that if the Democrats were using these statements of Goldwater just to prove he's two-faced they would also circulate the brochure throughout the North — not just

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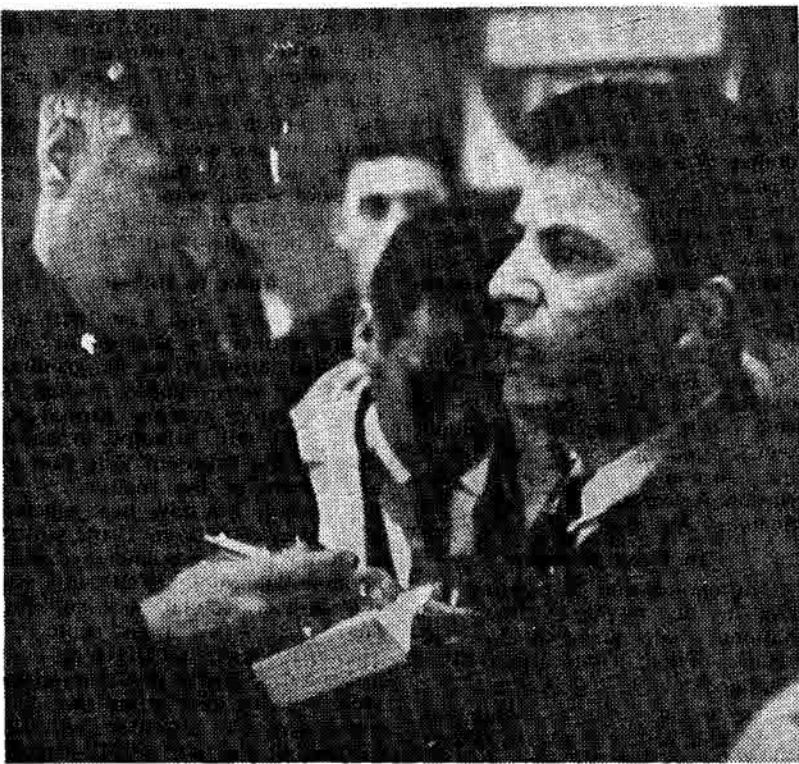
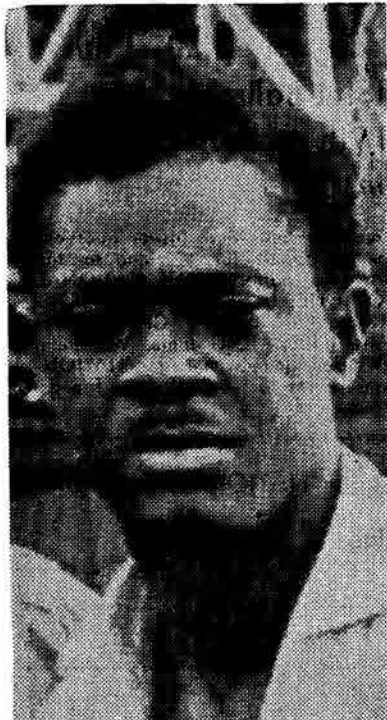


Photo by Lee Forest

**PETTY POLICE HARASSMENT.** Cop gives summons to Nat Weinstein, New York Organizer of Socialist Workers Party, at Greenwich Village rally for DeBerry, Shaw and Garza. Cop asserted the rally was supposed to end at 10 p.m. and had gone on until 10:15. When Weinstein explained the permit was good until 10:30 p.m., the cop—who may need remedial reading course—offered proof of his contention that the meeting was supposed to end at 10. He pointed to the "\$10" written on receipt for permit. Scenes of rally were televised by CBS for future showing.



Patrice Lumumba

### SWP Candidates On TV and Radio

Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, will appear on the TV program, "Issues and Answers," on Sunday, Oct. 25, over the ABC television network. Check your local station for the time. DeBerry will also be on NBC's "Today" show on Oct. 29, 7-9 a.m.

On Sunday, Oct. 25, at 12 noon, Lawrence Stewart, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from New Jersey, will be on TV channel 4 (N.Y.-N.J.) at 12 noon. Richard Garza, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from New York, will be on "Page One" on WABC-TV, Sunday, Oct. 18, 2-2:30 p.m.

(Continued on Page 2)



## Noted Civil-Rights Leaders to Address N.Y. Student Parley and DeBerry Rally

Youth for DeBerry and Shaw groups on the East Coast are sponsoring a Conference for Independent Political Action in New York Oct. 30 and 31. The first session, Friday night, Oct. 30, will be a panel on "The Negro Ghetto and Political Action." Participants will be Staughton Lynd, professor at Yale and director of the Mississippi Freedom Schools; Joanne Grant of the *National Guardian*; Lawrence Stewart, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from New Jersey; a representative of the Muslim Mosque, Inc.; Robert Vernon of *The Militant*; Jesse Grey, New York rent-strike leader; a representative of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; and Slater King, militant leader of the Albany Movement.

### 3-Way Debate

The next day, Saturday, will begin with a debate between Youth for Johnson, Youth for Goldwater, and Youth for DeBerry and Shaw. Representatives from the three youth groups will debate the question of U.S. policy in Vietnam.

After-lunch, Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will give a socialist analysis of "Goldwaterism—What It Is and How to Fight It."

Dobbs will be followed by James Shabazz, aide to Malcolm



Milton Henry

X of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., who will speak on "Twentieth Century Slaves," an analysis of the conditions of the American Negro and an historical survey of how these conditions developed.

Saturday's activities will be topped off with a rally for Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw, Socialist Workers Party candidates. Speakers at the rally will be DeBerry, the first Negro nominated for President by a political party; Shaw, SWP Vice-Presidential candidate; Milton Henry, Freedom Now Party candidate in Michigan for Congress; James Shabazz; Slater King; economist Dr. Otto Nathan; Richard Garza, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from New York; Sharon Krebs, student who defied ban on Cuba travel this summer; and Peter Camejo, National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

### To Hear Sheppard

The one session on Sunday will hear a talk by Barry Sheppard, national chairman of the YSA, on "How This Generation Will Change Society."

The Friday and Saturday sessions will be held at the Woodstock Hotel, 127 W. 43rd St. (between 7th and 6th Aves.), New York.

For further information, write to Youth for DeBerry and Shaw, P.O. Box 205, New York 3, N. Y., or phone YU 9-7570. Housing is being arranged for out-of-town participants.

## ... Peace Issue

(Continued from Page 1)

Johnson has also announced that a study on the feasibility of ending the draft is under way. His latest bid for peace votes was his announcement Sept. 30 that, if re-elected, he would go to Europe next year and meet with Khrushchev, and that he hopes the election will give him a clear mandate for such a summit talk.

The fact that the peace issue has seeped into the campaign — even in the form of these carefully ambiguous statements is significant. Both Johnson and Goldwater appeal to the flag-waving jingoism of the cold war; both are committed to the huge arms budget; neither has said a word about withdrawing U.S. troops from Vietnam. Nonetheless both have had to recognize that there is a deep-seated anti-war mood in this country; a sentiment against involvement in the Vietnam civil war and against continuation of the cold war with the ever-present threat of nuclear escalation.

Both capitalist candidates are demagogically appealing for the votes of the millions of people in this country who have such feelings.

## Mississippi 'Freedom Vote' Drive

# Freedom Democrats Run 5 Candidates

By Fred Halstead

OCT. 13 — Mississippi's Freedom Democratic Party is running four candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives and one for the U.S. Senate against the regular Democratic Party candidates. The FDP tried to have its five nominees listed on the Mississippi ballot as independents but racist state officials refused.

However, the Conference of Federated Organizations — a coalition of civil-rights forces — is holding a Freedom Vote open to all adult citizens whether or not they have been able to get past Mississippi's discriminatory voter-registration procedures. The Freedom Vote will use a ballot listing the FDP candidates as well as those of the Democratic and Republican parties.

The FDP candidates are Dr. Aaron Henry for Senator, Mr. Harold Roby for congress in the First District, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hammer in the Second District, Mrs. Annie Devine in the Fourth District and Mrs. Victoria Gray in the Fifth District.

Ninety-four per cent of Mississippi's eligible Negroes are still not registered — due to terror and discrimination in voter-registration procedures. The FDP hopes to poll more votes for its candidates in the Freedom Vote than are cast in the regular election. This would show, not only that Mississippi's Negroes would vote, if allowed to, but that the outcome of elections would be radically different.

### Move to Unseat

In January, the FDP will attempt to have the Mississippi Congressmen unseated on the grounds that they were chosen through a discriminatory voting procedure. The FDP will attempt to show through the Freedom Vote that at least some of the regular candidates would not have been elected if Negroes could vote. If the white-supremacist Congressmen are seated nonetheless, the FDP will ask the Democratic congressional caucus to disregard their seniority. (Seniority gives the Dixiecrat congressmen so many key committee posts.) Thus, even after the elections, national attention will be focused on the fight of Mississippi Negroes for the vote.

These bold efforts to win a political voice for citizens of Mississippi who are opposed to the racist Democratic Party regime there stand in contrast to the FDP announcement of support to the Johnson-Humphrey ticket.

The FDP recently released a report on its fight last August to be seated at the Democratic Party convention in Atlantic City. The report declares: "Within the Credentials Committee there was sufficient support to get the FDP's demands on the floor of the convention, through the signing of a minority report. On the floor, there was sufficient support to force a roll-call vote. Once a roll call was allowed, most observers agreed that the FDP would have been seated."

"What prevented this was the most massive pressure from the White House, through the mediation of Hubert Humphrey. The FDP delegation was aware of all this, and it therefore knew that the leadership of the party and the convention was denying it what, in fact, it had — the popular support to win. This kind of dictation is what Negroes in Mississippi face and have always faced, and it is precisely this that they are learning to stand up against."

The report states that in spite of this, the FDP is endorsing Johnson-Humphrey because "it believes, despite Atlantic City, in the ultimate ability of the Democratic Party to meet the challenge of the FDP and eliminate racism from its ranks."

Actually, there is no chance that the Democratic Party will do any such thing. It is perfectly willing



Aaron Henry

— indeed anxious — to accept support from representatives of many of the progressive forces in the country, but only in order to control such forces and bend them to the will of the capitalists who really control the party.

The representatives of the labor movement, the civil-rights movement, and other progressive forces within the party are simply trapped there, forced to knuckle under to the dictates of the ruling clique — just as they knuckled under to the dictate against the FDP at the August convention. The Democratic Party is not a democratic organization and it can never be one. It is not controlled by the votes of the progressive forces trapped within it, even though these forces make up a huge part of the party's support.

There are important differences between the Republicans and Democrats, including the fact that each party appeals to different sectors of the population. But both are controlled by one or another section of the bankers, industrial capitalists, real-estate sharks and corporation farmers — Northern and Southern — who profit from racism, imperialism, and war preparations. It is these capitalists who call the tune for the Democratic Party and there is no chance whatever that control of the party can be wrested from their hands.

The key to social progress in the U.S. is precisely to break the

progressive forces away from the Democratic Party, to get them to launch a labor-Negro-farmer party, or coalition of such parties, which will be based on, and responsible to, the sections of the population who have everything to gain and nothing to lose from ending racism, cold war, exploitation and imperialism.

The fight of Mississippi Negroes for political rights has the attention and support of all the progressive forces of the country. This fight can be an important factor in exposing the real nature of the Democratic Party and in leading and inspiring those forces throughout the country to take the road of independent political actions. And only that road can lead to success for the Mississippi freedom fighters. Any measures the Mississippi freedom fighters take which tend to expose the capitalist parties, which organize the Negroes and poor whites to fight in their own interests, which build political power controlled by these forces — are to the good.

### Seek to Sidetrack

But there are many elements — including some within the civil-rights movement — who are determined to sidetrack the movement into the Democratic Party where it cannot possibly accomplish its aims. Some of these people may be perfectly sincere in their beliefs. But they are simply not prepared to go all the way in the fight for equality, when that fight clashes with the vital interests of the capitalists. They are not prepared to take the revolutionary steps required for victory.

Instead of self-reliance, they teach reliance on the "good" capitalists. (But even the most liberal capitalists as a group, are incapable of leading or even tolerating a social revolution which must violate their own material interests.) Instead of independent political action, these people can always find an excuse for channeling the movement into the Democratic Party "this time." These people are working like beavers, spreading illusions about the Democratic Party. And this is a great disservice to the fight for Freedom Now. Because, it is only as these illusions are overcome, and as the movement builds political power controlled exclusively by the exploited and oppressed, that political progress can be made.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

## The Presidential Elections . . . and Beyond

A NATIONAL GUARDIAN SYMPOSIUM

Wednesday, October 28 8:15 P.M.

Henry Hudson Hotel Ballroom

57th Street and 9th Avenue

Admission: \$1

The editors of eight publications will exchange views and answer questions on the meaning of the vote for Johnson, for Goldwater . . . and for the future of America. Participants: James Aronson, editor of *THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN*; M.S. Aronson, *MINORITY OF ONE*; David Dellinger, *LIBERATION*; James M. Jackson, *THE WORKER*; Fred Jerome, *CHALLENGE*; George Lavan, *THE MILITANT*; Dan Watts, *LIBERATOR*; James Weinstein, *STUDIES ON THE LEFT*. Moderator: Russ Nixon, general manager, *NATIONAL GUARDIAN*. Use this coupon to order tickets for yourself, your friends, your organization.

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SYMPOSIUM @ \$1 each. I enclose \$ .....

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## Weekly Calendar

### AD RATES

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten per cent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

### BERKELEY

Steve Roberts, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, speaks on *The Triple Revolution*, Fri., Oct. 23, 8 p.m. Stiles Hall, Bancroft and Dana. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance.

### BOSTON

A SOCIALIST ANALYSIS OF GOLDWATER. Speaker, Tom Leonard, writer for *The Militant* Fri., Oct. 23, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., rm. 307. (1 block from Mass. Ave.) Contrib. 50c Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### CHICAGO

EDWARD SHAW, Vice-Presidential candidate of the SWP, speaks on *Why a Vote for Johnson or Goldwater is a Vote for War*, THURSDAY, Oct. 22, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### CLEVELAND

CLIFTON DeBERRY speaks on *The Bi-Partisan Fraud on Civil Rights*, Sunday, Oct. 25, 7:30 p.m. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave. Ausp. Cleveland Militant Forum.

### DETROIT

Midwest Rally for Independent Political Action. Hear CLIFTON DeBERRY, JAMES SHABAZZ, REV. ALBERT CLEAGE, EDWARD SHAW and BARRY SHEPPARD. Central Congregational Church at Linwood and Hogarth. Saturday, Oct. 24 at 7:30 p.m.

### LOS ANGELES

THE MYTH OF AMERICAN LIBERALISM. Speaker, Jack Barnes, National Organizer of the Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Oct. 23, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### MINNEAPOLIS

CLIFTON DeBERRY, SWP candidate for President speaks on *The Bi-Partisan Fraud on Civil Rights*, Wed., Oct. 21, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin, Hall 240. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### NEW YORK

Symposium: CAN U.S. POLICY SUCCEED IN VIETNAM? Panelists: Helen Lamb, author of *The Tragedy of Vietnam*; Robert Schwartz, national board member of SANE and ADA; Richard Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator. Fri., Oct. 23, 8:30 p.m. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.



## Good Meetings and Publicity For Touring SWP Nominees

Clifton DeBerry, SWP candidate for President, has swung into the West Coast leg of his national speaking tour, while Edward Shaw, the vice-presidential nominee has moved into the Midwest.

"To help solve the poverty and unemployment problem, Shaw urged adoption of a 30-hour work week without wage reductions, increased unemployment compensation payments and the extension of such payments to include all people looking unsuccessfully for work," said the Oct. 10 *Racine Journal Times*, reporting an interview with Shaw. Shaw was in Racine briefly, on his way to speak in Milwaukee. He was coming from Minneapolis, and had earlier spoken to an enthusiastic audience at the University of Wisconsin in Madison.

Shaw blasted the "lesser-evil" rationalization of support to Johnson at a meeting sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum in Minneapolis. He attacked the war programs of both Johnson and Goldwater, and urged people to join his campaign and the socialist movement, especially young people, because "they are the hope of the future."

### College Talks

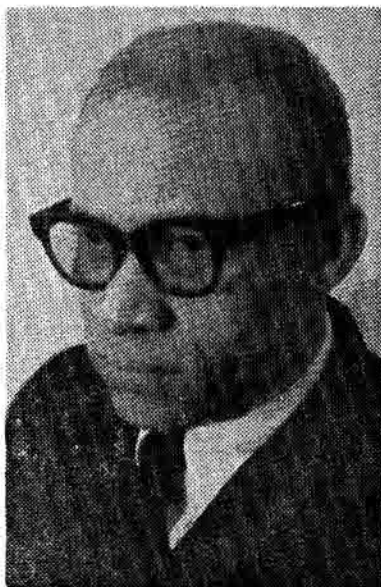
While in the Twin Cities area, Shaw spoke to students at Carleton College, Hamline University, and the University of Minnesota. Everett Luoma, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from Minnesota, spoke to a group of students at Macalaster College in St. Paul while Shaw was at the U of M.

DeBerry began his West Coast tour in Seattle, where he addressed a rally of the Freedom Socialist Party. In the state of Washington, DeBerry and Shaw are listed on the ballot under the designation of the Freedom Socialist Party, which has also nominated Waymon Ware, an independent socialist, for congressman from the state's seventh district.

Waymon Ware is a self-employed carpenter who has been active in the civil-rights movement most of his life. This is his first campaign as a political candidate. In 1958, he was active in a successful campaign to defeat the so-called Right-to-Work referendum. The Negro community voted overwhelmingly against the anti-labor measure. Ware pointed out how a small minority of Southern racists, illegally elected, dominate Congressional Committees. "The domination of the U.S. by this minority of anti-labor racists would be impossible without the acceptance and approval of Northern congressmen, and without the authority provided them by the Democratic Party in the North."

Ware is Chairman of the Seattle Negro Improvement Association.

Before arriving in Seattle, DeBerry spent two days in Denver. Five radio and three TV stations carried extensive interviews with DeBerry, as did the *Rocky Mountain News* and the *Denver Post*.



Clifton DeBerry

At the University of Colorado at Boulder, 150 students turned out for DeBerry. The meeting was sponsored by the Associated Students of the University of Colorado. He also spoke to a meeting at the Militant Labor Forum which included a group of high-school students, and at a Student YM-YWCA meeting at the University of Denver.

DeBerry will come back into the Midwest after finishing the West Coast leg of his tour, but on his way west he stopped over in Chicago for some highly successful campaigning. Over 800 students heard him in a whirlwind series of meetings in the Windy City.

### Applause

At Shimer College, 180 came to DeBerry's meeting sponsored by the school's Political Club, and interrupted him several times with applause. A campus Students for DeBerry and Shaw has been organized there, but is not yet recognized by the college administration. Applause also interrupted DeBerry at his meeting with 250 students at Northern Illinois University. Most of the audience supported the Negro candidate against some right-wingers present. One right-wing questioner was laughed down by the students.

Another successful meeting took place at Luther High North — between 150 and 175 high school students there turned out for DeBerry's talk. He also spoke at Elmhurst College, Wright Jr. College, Roosevelt University, and the University of Chicago.

### Youth Campaigning

Joel Pederson of the Chicago Youth for DeBerry and Shaw spoke on behalf of the socialist candidates to 110 students at Thornridge High School while DeBerry was in town.

Chicago's two Negro newspapers both gave coverage to DeBerry's campaign. The *Chicago Courier* carried an article entitled "Negro Presidential Candidate For Arming Negroes in South," and the *Defender* had two articles on DeBerry's visit.

At the Friday Night Socialist Forum, DeBerry pointed out that in 1960, labor leaders opposed the nomination of Johnson because of his anti-labor record. Negro leaders opposed his anti-civil rights record. Now, these same "leaders" hail Johnson as a friend of labor and the Negro — he has been transformed from a Texas reactionary into a "liberal."

"Regardless of who is elected," DeBerry declared, "Goldwater or Johnson, slums will continue to exist, poverty will continue to exist, unemployment will continue to exist, the threat of war will continue to exist." Breaking with the Republicans and Democrats, running independent political candidates, organizing and building independent political parties, and educating the masses of the people, he said, can set into motion the forces that will eliminate these evils.



Waymon Ware

## View From a Painter's Ladder

# To Bureaucrat a Critic Is a 'Disrupter'

By Bernie Stanton

Let us continue the story of the loyal member of a craft union who tries to reclaim the organization to its original purpose of defending and advancing the members' interests against the employers' rather than serving as a petty kingdom and source of privilege for the labor bureaucrats.

A very revealing episode took place the last time a contract was signed between the union and the Association of Master Painters of New York. The agreement provided for the introduction of the roller applicator and the "mitt" — two wage scales instead of one.

Our critic took the floor at his local meeting and spoke against the contract in sharp terms. He said that while the roller applicator, otherwise known as the "bulldozer," would increase production by 40-50 per cent, it would kill those who used it constantly because it is a heavy and exhausting tool. The "mitt," which is a glove-like contraption attached to the hand so the painter can dip it into the bucket and apply paint on places like stairways and fire escapes, is another objectionable and speed-production tool.

The dual wage scale, the critic said, was a means of dividing the painters into different classes of work. The agreement, he concluded, was the worst in the history of the painters' union and a sell-out.



tory of the painters' union and a sell-out.

The bureaucrat in charge of the meeting almost split a gut. The veins of his neck stood out like cords. He used all the epithets in his limited vocabulary. Then his chief lieutenant took the floor: "This man is a troublemaker, an outside agitator, a disrupter, who comes in here wanting to take over the union. What's wrong with the roller? If you want to be a painter, you gotta have muscle. Besides, we're losing business to the non-union shops who are using the roller."

His arguments in favor of the new agreement paralleled the bosses'. The only thing was that if a boss had said the same things in a union hall he would have been thrown out.

During this meeting, the chairman got so panicky because of the shouting and tumult in the hall that he demanded that anyone op-

posed to the agreement step forward — an obvious attempt to intimidate the members who were supposed to vote on the new contract by secret ballot. The critic tried to make this point of order. "Sit down," ordered the chairman. "Not till you hear my point of order." "You are fined \$5," declared the chairman. "Mr. Chairman, I protest this fine." "You are fined again."

The meeting broke up, but it was not all over. The members lined up to cast their ballots. Suddenly, the business agent-chairman came up behind our critic and wrenched his union book from his hand. He strode to the desk of the local's secretary, saying, "Take down all the information in this man's book. We'll take care of him."

Such was and is the atmosphere created by the bureaucracy in the painters' union — an atmosphere of tension, intimidation and fear.

The last election in the union was a victory for the bureaucracy but it was too close for comfort. So one by one leading oppositionists were suspended, some for three, some for five years. The pretenses were flimsy and the trials a mockery. Not even a capitalist court would swallow them.

The *New York Times* of April 19, 1963, for example, reported the U.S. Court of Appeals' unanimous decision in the case of *Solomon Salzhandler vs. District Council 9, Brotherhood of Painters & Decorators, and Local 442 of the Brotherhood*. The decision said in part: "Freedom of expression would be stifled if those in power could claim that any charges against them were libelous and then proceed to discipline those responsible on a finding that the charges were false. That is precisely what Webman and the trial board did here when they punished Salzhandler with a five year ban of silence and stripped him of his office."

That was a significant defeat for the bureaucracy and helped stop the most flagrant forms of victimization, but the bureaucrat is still in the saddle.

## Committee for Jobs or Income To Sponsor Forums, Classes

NEW YORK — It has been announced here that an Alliance for Jobs or Income Now is in the process of formation "for self-education, action and unity of the unemployed and the insecurely employed, Negro and white."

The letter announcing the new organization states:

"Vast changes are taking place in industry and technology. On the one hand they offer the potential of abundance and creative opportunity; on the other, they present the specter of millions of people marked 'obsolete' in an age which provides the technical means to wipe out massive sectors of the populace. On the world scene the weapons of the nuclear age create a related dilemma: if we do not demand and secure a lasting peace, with the huge economic and social changes this implies, civilization itself can be destroyed. The world-wide strivings of peoples and minority groups to free themselves from oppression make up a third gigantic force for change. These three areas, cybernation, weaponry and human rights, are mutually interlinked and interacting. On the domestic scene, in this election season, we see the handwriting large upon the wall."

## ...Racist Campaign

(Continued from Page 1)  
in Southern areas where it helps win them racist support.

The revelation that both parties are using such tactics to compete for the white-supremacist vote should come as no surprise to those who have not permitted awareness of the ugly gang around Goldwater to blind them to the facts of life about the Democratic Party and its bigoted Texas leader.

Lyndon Johnson's deep-rooted anti-Negro bias spilled out most recently in Reno, Nevada, on Oct. 12 when he explained to Jack Dempsey why he mixes with people in campaign crowds.

"If the president gets out of his car," Johnson said, "and talks to a colored boy in New Orleans, or a widow woman in Kentucky, or a banker in New England, they feel pretty important." We doubt Johnson was referring to a Negro teen-ager.

Commenting on the two parties' pamphlet-war in the South Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, said: "As a Negro, I recognized long ago that a vote for either major party is a vote for racism. If the present bid for 'backlash' votes by Goldwater and Johnson does nothing else, I hope it will awaken more Negroes to the fact that by voting for either of these two parties they're voting for the perpetuation of racism. I strongly urge a vote for the Socialist Workers Party ticket as a means of repudiating the ugly anti-Negro tactics being used by the Republicans and Democrats."

### Unity

"We believe that unity among the unemployed, organized and unorganized working people, and the members of the oppressed minorities is essential at this time. Those of us who are affected or threatened by the new technological forces must understand what is happening, and discover our role in helping to bring about the changes necessary to human survival and fulfillment. All who feel a concern in this are welcomed as our allies. We must study, teach, act and organize. It is for this purpose that the Alliance is being formed."

The letter, signed by Frances Witlin and Marjory Collins, says that plans include forums, a school and related projects. A headquarters has been secured at 17 W. 20th St., New York, and donations of furnishings, such as chairs, lamps, desks, etc., are requested.

The sponsors of the Alliance are: Donald B. and Eunice Armstrong, Anne and Carl Braden, David Dellinger, Tod Gitlin, James Haughton, Honey Knopp, Irving Laucks, David Livingston, Linus Pauling and Bertrand Russell.

Donald B. Armstrong, Gitlin, and Laucks were signers of the *Triple Revolution* document; the Bradens are well-known Southern civil-rights fighters, Dellinger is an editor of *Liberation*, the pacifist magazine, Livingston is president of District 65 RWDSU, AFL-CIO.

## MUST READING

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# THE MILITANT

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## Well-Earned Support

For the first time in history, the capitalist press — daily newspapers and large-circulation magazines — has deserted the Republican Party *en masse* in favor of the Democratic Presidential candidate. Not only have the independent newspapers like the *New York Times* come out for Johnson, but right-wing publications like the Hearst papers have also joined the Johnson bandwagon.

In its Oct. 5th issue, *Life* magazine announced its support of Johnson. This was the first time that any Time, Inc. publication (the Luce publications including *Time* and *Fortune*) has backed a Democratic Presidential ticket.

The staid *Herald Tribune* which speaks for Eastern business broke its 124-year-old tradition in coming out for Johnson — the first Democrat it has ever supported for President. The *Saturday Evening Post* broke a similar long tradition when it declared for Johnson several weeks ago.

Traditionally, an overwhelmingly large proportion of the newspapers have supported the Republicans, the erstwhile favorite party of big business. This time the numbers are just about even, but the circulation of the papers supporting the Democrats is more than double that of those supporting the Republicans. Democratic newspaper support includes the two chains with the largest circulation, Scripps-Howard and Hearst, and such large independent papers as: the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Chicago Daily News*, *Chicago Sun-Times*, *Cleveland Plain Dealer* and *The Kansas City Star*.

What emerges from all this is the plain fact that Johnson is the candidate of big business which supports him through its mass publications. Nor can it be argued that the swing of the right-wing press to Johnson is proof that even conservatives can't take "irresponsible" Goldwater. When such rabidly anti-labor, anti-Negro, pro-witch-hunt and pro-war forces as the Luce and Hearst empires get behind Johnson it's because they see in him a kindred spirit.

## Poverty a Prime Killer

Poverty is the third principal cause of death in New York City where it kills 13,000 annually, according to city Health Commissioner Dr. George James. He estimated that 1,400,000 people — one fifth of the city's population — live in this killing condition of poverty.

Commissioner James reached his conclusion about 13,000 deaths from poverty on the basis of a comparative study of the death rates from various causes in the 97.6 per cent white, middle-class area of Flushing, Queens, and the predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican area of Bedford, Brooklyn.

One of the striking pairs of statistics cited by James in his talk before the 92nd annual meeting of the American Public Health Association was that on infant mortality. Out of every 1,000 live babies born, 13.8 die as infants in Flushing, while 27.0 die as infants in Bedford.

On Oct. 1 the New York City Public Health Association criticized the American Public Health Association for its apathy toward the high death and disease rate among minority groups. "We have watched the APHA content itself with empty resolutions," Dr. Alonzo S. Yerby, president of the New York group said.

None of this can come as a surprise to our readers. Nor is there any doubt that killing poverty and killing lack of medical care and lack of concern in top government circles about either will continue until Negroes and other minorities organize themselves politically in opposition to the two capitalist parties to fight for a better life.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

## Rally for DeBerry and Shaw

Hear the Candidates and

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Auspices: Youth for DeBerry and Shaw

## THE 2-PARTY SWAMP

# Negro Leaders and Capitalist Politics

By George Breitman

Politically, 1964 has been a disaster for the Negro movement. 1963 was the year when it began to declare its independence, but 1964 has shown the incomplete and limited character of that declaration. With honorable but few exceptions, the Negro movement has remained stuck in the swamp of liberal capitalist politics, and there it is stagnating or sinking.

The Socialist Workers Party, in its 1963 convention resolution, pointed out that for practically all tendencies in the Negro movement, politics is the area where they are "weakest and least independent, both in theory and practice." Since the Negro struggle is a political struggle above everything else, its weakness and dependence in this field have had crippling effects on other fields.

For the more conservative Negro leaders, the election campaign was a godsend, especially after the Goldwater nomination. Now they had their pretext for calling off demonstrations in the streets, which they had never favored in the first place. They embraced it with both arms, and are working 24 hours a day to keep the Negro community in the position of an appendage to the Democratic Party.

In this endeavor, conservatives like Roy Wilkins are getting all-out aid from people who have enjoyed reputations as militants in



Roy Wilkins

the past. A. Philip Randolph, who refused to endorse Kennedy in 1960, tells the Southern Christian Leadership Conference that "It's not enough just to elect Lyndon B. Johnson . . . we've got to bury Goldwater!" Bayard Rustin, who still sits on the editorial board of *Liberator* and remains the darling of the Socialist Party, is racing all over the place with "radical" reasons why Negroes should support the same candidate that Faubus is supporting and remain in the

same party that Eastland is in.

Even younger and more militant sections of the civil-rights movement have been sucked into the swamp. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's venture into politics in Mississippi has turned into a dismal contest with the racists to demonstrate that Negroes are the "real" Democrats because they would vote for Johnson, if only Johnson would do something about helping them to exercise the right to vote.

But the saddest spectacle is provided by *Liberator*. This magazine has gained respect as a radical and forthright opponent of white supremacy, gradualism and tokenism. It has been particularly strong in its exposure and condemnation of the middle-class Negro leaders, their liberal ideology and practice, and their dependence on the power structure. Yet *Liberator* has entered the swamp too; a little later than those it has so justly criticized, but with them.

### Number of Articles

The October issue of *Liberator* prints a number of articles on the election of the kind its readers have come to expect. Their gist is that "Between Johnson and Goldwater, black people have no choice." But the official position of the magazine is expressed in its editorials, and its October editorial, "Johnson or Goldwater a Choice?," reaches a different conclusion.

It begins with the usual attack on the official Negro leaders: "Where will middle-class black Americans be (in November)? Why, right along with their white liberal comrades trying to save America from Goldwater . . . There is no panic in the ghettos, only in the painted green lawns of suburbia . . ."

Then it charges there is no real difference between the two major parties: "We are held in such contempt by the Democratic Party of Johnson and the Republican Party of Goldwater that we have not even received from them the usual pre-election promises that things will be better after the election. The issue for black America is not Johnson or Goldwater, but one of survival . . ."

### Last Sentence

But the editorial's last sentence, the one that counts, does not flow from what precedes it. It says: "However, the one possible virtue President Johnson has, he is not Goldwater, and Goldwater must be DEFEATED." (Emphasis in original.)

So *Liberator*, despite its verbal criticisms of Johnson, despite its shamefaced way of giving in to liberal pressure, ends up in the same pro-Johnson swamp as "the middle-class black Americans" and "their white liberal comrades." There is no panic in the ghettos, but there must be some in the editorial office of *Liberator*.

Earlier in the year it printed an article rejecting Clifton DeBerry, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, as an alleged "pawn" of the Marxists. Its present support of Johnson casts light on its real reason for opposing DeBerry. At the last minute *Liberator* couldn't resist showing it is "responsible" too. Responsible to whom?

The 1964 election has been a test for the different tendencies in the Negro movement. Those who can't stand up against the pressure of the liberals today can hardly be expected to stand up against the much harsher pressures to come. The only ones in the Negro movement who have acquitted themselves honorably, and therefore have earned the right to be listened to after the election, are the supporters of Clifton DeBerry's candidacy on a national scale and the campaigners for the Freedom Now Party in Michigan and other states.

## Brazilian Dictatorship Inflicts Harsh Repressions on People

By Constance Weissman

U.S. imperialism, which claims that it is hostile to the Castro regime because it ended "democracy" in Cuba, is deliriously happy with the military dictatorship in Brazil which in its six months of power has stamped out civil liberties and filled the jails with political prisoners.

The U.S.-sanctioned military coup in South America's largest country, ousted the legal president, Joao Goulart, and installed Army Chief of Staff Castelo Branco in his place. Washington approved this undemocratic seizure of power on the grounds that it "saved Brazil from communism," although, as Prof. Ronald Hilton writes in the *June Hispanic American Report*, "U.S. intelligence has now admitted there was no evidence this threat existed." The Stanford University professor says the overthrow of Goulart "is to be explained in large measure by the hostility of the landowners to his land-reform plans."

In his speech at Playa Giron, Fidel Castro declared: "To say that Goulart was a communist is really the limit. The deposed president . . . was trying to carry out a series of social reforms, those very reforms which the Alliance for Progress hypocritically defended."

Though the financial pages of U.S. papers have gleefully reported the excellent new relations between the government of Brazil and U.S. investors, there has been little space given to the wholesale arrests of leftist, labor, peasant, liberal and even moderate and Catholic opponents of the military rulers.

The atmosphere of terror can be glimpsed in the treatment the generals gave the University of Brasilia. Soon after the coup, the campus was surrounded by troops. Officers ransacked the library, destroying all materials they considered "subversive." Among other things, the bookburners destroyed a Greek edition of the New Testament because they thought the print was Russian and hence "propaganda." Japanese linguistic tapes were similarly destroyed on the mistaken assumption that they

were in Chinese and hence Maoist "propaganda."

The conservative newspaper *Folha de Sao Paulo* of Sept. 12 gives a carefully restrained account of the imprisonment of Prof. Florestan Fernandes, an internationally known sociologist at the University of Sao Paulo. His examination by the military police for "subversive" ideas, included such humiliating items as being ordered to sing the national anthem. Fernandes wrote a letter of protest to the colonel in charge. The colonel termed the letter "arrogant" and ordered the professor to retract it. He refused and was imprisoned in the military barracks. Student strikes are forbidden but students stayed away from the university that night. "They were in no condition to concentrate on classes in view of the atmosphere of terror which surrounded them," *Folha* commented.

But this was mild compared to what happened to peasant leaders in northeast Brazil, where Peasant Leagues had been formed under the leadership of Francisco Julião, who is now in prison. According to an article by Dan Kurzman from Recife in the May 12 *Washington Post*, the plantation owners and sugar-mill operators in Pernambuco went on a "spree of vengeance against their workers in order to try to wipe out the peasant unions."

"In one case the mayor of Conrado, accompanied by two hoodlums, beat up the president and other officials of the local democratic peasant union, as well as the wives of some, including one who was pregnant. They also dragged the president's mother from her home and ripped off her clothes in public."

"In another village, Jose Lopes, a sugar plantation owner and former Congressman, sent strong-arm men from hut to hut to beat up peasants who had led strikes . . . In Carpina armed masked men entered the home of a peasant strike leader and abused his wife and daughters . . . Almost all democratic union leaders, together with Communists, were dragged off to jail by the landowners."



## N.Y. Meeting Urges Police Review Board

NEW YORK, Oct. 7 — The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee held a meeting last night to protest police brutality and demand the establishment of a civilian review board.

Judge Hubert Delany chaired the meeting. He stated that while not all policemen are evil, there is a higher percentage of evil people on the police force than in any other branch of the civil service.

City Councilman Theodore S. Weiss, author of the bill to establish a civilian police review board in New York City, was the principal speaker. He attacked the section of the report by J. Edgar Hoover on the ghetto riots that deals with police review boards. Weiss said that he knew from personal knowledge that the report on Rochester was a lie.

Lawrence Cole, a psychologist and director of the Lower East Side Action Project (LEAP), told a series of shocking stories of police brutality he knew first hand. He pointed out that it was not even possible to get the fact of widespread police brutality recognized in New York, let alone the establishment of a civilian review board.

In the discussion period, Clark Foreman, executive director of the ECLC, made the point that although FBI chief Hoover went out of his way to smear the idea of review boards (in the report he made on the ghetto riots), the Warren Commission, which is a review board, found the FBI and Secret Service were both negligent. If the federal police need review in an assassination case, then the police here need it all the time, he said.

## War in Vietnam To Be Topic of N.Y. Symposium

NEW YORK — The most important question in United States foreign policy, the war in South Vietnam, will be the subject of a symposium Oct. 23 at the Militant Labor Forum at 116 University Place. Entitled "Can U.S. Policy Succeed in Vietnam?" the symposium will be led by three panelists:

Robert Schwartz, vice president of the Israeli Discount Bank, who is a member of the national boards of the Americans for Democratic Action and the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, the organization which led the fight against nuclear testing in this country;

Helen Lamb, author of the pamphlet *The Tragedy of Vietnam*; and Richard Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from New York.



Richard Garza

## BEHIND THE GENERAL MOTORS STRIKE

By Thomas Heath

OAKLAND, Calif., Oct. 6 — In case you wonder what lies behind the present strike in General Motors let me describe the situation in the GM plant at Fremont, 25 miles south of here. This is one of the several BOP plants (where Buicks, Oldsmobiles and Pontiacs are assembled). This plant is new, one of the most modern assembly plants in the GM complex. It employs 4,100 workers.

It has features such as air conditioning, excellent lighting, and patios for rest periods. These patios have tables with umbrellas for shade, and benches and many vending machines with refreshments, and telephones so workers can make calls outside. The plant even has escalators so workers don't have to climb stairs. The cafeteria is clean, modern and stylish, with sound-proof ceilings and semi-classical music piped in. There are spacious washrooms and the toilet stalls have doors with locks on them, unlike the old plant where there were no doors and where foremen used to go down the row looking for men who had left the assembly line.

### Best Equipped

In the new plant every foreman has access to an inter-plant telephone system on his desk, and there is a plant-wide public-address system. The plant boasts a modern medical dispensary with five or six nurses for each shift and a doctor and an ambulance service.

Despite all this, the Fremont workers, prior to the national negotiations, took a strike vote and, with 2,700 casting ballots, voted 99½ per cent to authorize a strike. Why?

The story is wrapped around two figures. After the change-over to new models, the assembly-line speed was set and manned for the production of 35 cars per hour. Since then, management has speeded up the line to 45 cars per hour with no increase in personnel.

A walk down the aisle reveals workers sweating in spite of the air conditioning. The men are fighting the line, many are "in the hole" with the hoses on their air tools stretched out tight as they get behind, and lose their position following the moving jobs.

### Frustration

There is frustration on their faces as they try to assemble the right part on the right job. With the varying "model mix" — three different brands of cars, several models in each, and hundreds of optional items to be included on some jobs and left off others — the work load of each operator fluctuates up from "normal," and down to "normal." But the "normal" pace is what a man can do.

The "combination" jobs come down the line and hit the worker with extra tasks, so he falls behind, a flood of repair work accumulates at the end of the line. When the plant was opened, the company stressed "flexibility" in setting work standards because different cars were going to run on one line, and if demand slackened on one model, another would be increased. But the "flexibility" is in the worker trying to juggle the varying parts and stock, reaching into his apron which has many pockets with nuts, bolts, screws, etc., and an air tool under one arm with which to fasten them on.

In the old plant the original line speed was determined by the "utility men," (the next in line for foremen's jobs). They used to set up the job and determine the speed. Now the Time Standards Department, which has a big layout upstairs, figures it out with slide rules. Now very few utility men, who used to be the pace setters, can make the operation in the time sent down by Time Standards. The utility men used to be



Of course the foreman's a pin-headed S.O.B.! Whaddya think we hired him for — his brains?

privileged workers, now most of them "want out."

The set-up and pacing for the job is done in the mysterious Time Standards room and set forth in books which are closely guarded secrets. The union committeemen are not even allowed to look at these books to find out how the standard was arrived at.

The toughest grievance to file is a dispute on the time study, protesting a work load. All the "wheels" in the plant, the foremen, the line foremen, the general foremen and the superintendents are concerned with their year-end "efficiency" bonus, possible promotions, competition with other plants in the GM system, and they react to the worker's beef on work load as if it were something personal.

From the top down in the "decentralized" GM system, there is fierce competition. Word comes through that BOP in St. Louis produced so many cars in such and such time, Tarrytown, N.Y., tops it, then Fremont is supposed to top that and so on. The bonuses depend on it. This national pressure on local plant management is one reason these "local" issues can't really be solved without a strong national fight.

When a worker reaches his breaking point and calls his committeeman, the committeeman arrives with his stop watch and times the job. He gets relief for the worker to talk to the foreman and committeeman. The foreman says: "This operator has plenty of time for the job. I will not take work off him." The committeeman writes up the grievance and tells the worker to return to work and be careful, the grievance will be processed. Meantime, the work load continues without relief. It gets worse, in fact, because the foreman's attitude gets more belligerent toward the grievant.

Next, the company time-study man arrives to study the grievant's every motion — usually for four hours. There have been cases where they timed grievants for two full days, putting real pressure on them.

Then they have the worker re-

lieved from the line, and right there in front of everyone, the superintendent, the general foreman, the foreman, the labor-relations man, and the time-study man surround him. With the other workers watching, the line superintendent puts on a real show. He shouts, waves his finger in a menacing manner, tells the grievant the facts of life, shows him the company time study which "proves" that there is plenty of time to do the job, and ends with the implied threat that the grievant better quit his bellyaching and do all his operations or get suspended. Management is fully aware of the impact this has in frightening the other workers who might be thinking of protesting their own work loads.

### Young Workers

This is a new plant, and 3,000 out of 4,100 workers are new, with less than one year seniority. They had to pass a rigorous physical exam with emphasis on youth, dexterity and speed. For most, this is their first experience in being regimented to a moving conveyor line and an oppressive, prison-like atmosphere.

The young grievant's education may be completed when he is led away by his foreman to Labor Relations where he is given a disciplinary suspension. His committeeman assures him the union will process his case, and he is escorted to the door where he deposits his badge with the guard and goes home to tell his wife there won't be a pay check for a while. He must await a telegram telling him when to return to work. All this is without trial or anything like that. In GM plants, a man is guilty until proven innocent.

Ultimately, the man is called back to perform the same operation, or possibly a worse one. The grievances go through various "steps" where they lie dormant. As of now, there are 400 serious grievances lying in the cubby holes in Labor Relations here. When the young grievant first makes his protest, he generally has confidence the union will stand behind him. It does in form, but it is ineffectual. He loses his

confidence in his union. The slow, cumbersome grievance procedure, and the intimidation, discourage the filing of many legitimate grievances. Perhaps one out of ten are actually filed and processed.

The worker faces the line every day, is forced to work many hours of overtime despite the fact that his body is wracked with fatigue at the end of the normal eight hours — overtime is not optional at GM. You get suspended for refusing it. Repair and utility men have been working for eleven hours. There were two threatened walkouts over this.

The morning comes when the worker wakes up and just goes back to sleep rather than face another day of hell. "Absence without reasonable cause" gets a reprimand the first time, then suspension, and after the third step of "progressive discipline" it is "out the door."

Though the papers report that UAW president Walter Reuther says you get a 12-minute break every four hours, this isn't really so in practice. There are just so many relief men to take the places of men leaving the line. If they are busy on sick relief, or line breakdown, or other emergencies, they are just not available for the relief periods. There have been times when nobody on the whole line got the relief break.

Another constant source of irritation is that the worker never knows when the "quitting bell" is going to ring. Management might decide at the last minute to work another few tenths of an hour (The hour is divided into tenths at GM.), and the men miss their car-pool rides.

One worker said: "I've been working in the auto industry about 18 years and I've never seen it this bad. The pushing of the assembly line beyond human endurance creates a tremendous amount of frustration and anger towards the union that is ineffectual in coping with these many problems."

That's the way it is in the most modern, cleanest, up-to-date GM plant. These are some of the things behind the strike.



## THE KENTUCKY MINERS' TRIAL

## FBI, Politicians, Ganged Up on Defendants

[Failing to convict Berman Gibson, leader of unemployed miners in Kentucky, last July, federal prosecutors scheduled a retrial for Oct. 14. That date passed, however, without trial. Inasmuch as the first trial was not reported outside the local press, we present the follow account of it.]

By Stanley Lingle

From July 13 to 19 a labor trial of unusual dimensions took place in the federal courthouse in Lexington, Kentucky. Berman Gibson and eight other unemployed coal miners were charged with conspiring to dynamite a Louisville and Nashville Railroad bridge (which is still standing undamaged) at Daisy, Ky.

The trial grew out of bitter coal miners' strike and was the second set of charges faced by these men in less than four months. In April Gibson and seven other "roving pickets" had been acquitted in a state court in Whitesburg of armed robbery and assault.

These Kentucky trials remind us of what labor is up against when it refuses to subside with a pat on the back. Without support of their union, the United Mine Workers, the Roving Pickets of Kentucky had waged a three-year battle with non-union coal operators. Marching armies of miners up fortified mountains in the face of state police, deputy sheriffs and hired thugs, the pickets had closed down all non-union mines in seven East Kentucky counties. A phony truce initiated by the governor and the attrition of the protracted struggle finally undermined the strike.

A barrage of indictments followed but Gibson and his roving pickets were able to enlist the support of some trade unionists outside the state. The Committee for Miners was set up in New York. It raised funds and helped obtain high-caliber defense counsel in the persons of I. Philip Sipser and Paul O'Dwyer of New York, and

Dan Jack Combs and Harry Caudill of Kentucky.

Prepared to defend themselves in court, the miners' movement now constituted itself a citizens' organization — the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment — based in Hazard, and continued to press for jobs at decent wages. Their continuing militancy, combined with their legal victory at Whitesburg, greatly alarmed their opponents. On the final day of that trial, nearly every key figure in the impending federal trial was there to hear the verdict — representatives of the political machine of Perry County (home county of the defendants), the two federal prosecutors, FBI agents and numerous other prosecution witnesses-to-be.

After the Whitesburg acquittal, the Hazard area was saturated by FBI agents, railroad detectives, Pinkerton men and state police detectives. The smear campaign against the miners again reached the heights of the strike period. State and municipal job-holders, school superintendents, welfare administrators, local coal operators and business associates, legislators, etc., all joined in a campaign to isolate and vilify the "gang of cutthroats" about to go on trial.

The federal prosecutor succeeded in moving the trial from Jackson, a coal-county, mountain town, to Lexington in the heart of the bluegrass, commercial-agricultural area.

The backdrop of the intense effort to railroad these men was the effect of Johnson's "war on poverty" and the impending Appalachia Aid Bill on Kentucky's political machines. They are at a high pitch of greedy expectancy. The governors of Appalachia had already carried the point that any federal aid to the unemployment-racked area should pass through the traditional sticky-fingered state relief and public-works chan-

nels. Officials, eager for the grand pork barrel, were alarmed and infuriated by the miners' Appalachian Committee.

One of that organization's first acts had been to call for close federal supervision of aid money. It charged — and circulated its documentation throughout the state and in Washington, D.C. — that in the past little of such money ever got down to the unemployed miners and their families.

At the trial the prosecution tried to show the eight defendants had conspired to destroy the L&N bridge with nitro-glycerine transported in Gibson's car. L&N detectives, after firing automatic carbines at figures on the bridge (unidentifiable because of darkness), had arrested Bige Hensley, a known picket, in Gibson's car parked on a public highway near the bridge. Hensley was handcuffed and held at the scene for 12 hours.

In the following week the seven other defendants were arrested and grilled repeatedly. Four were alleged to have finally made statements incriminating themselves and others. These "confessions" — ultimately read to the jury — formed the heart of the prosecution case.

Other evidence submitted by the prosecution was very flimsy. It purported to prove that explosives had been found on the bridge and that some of the defendants had been within a 30-mile area radius of the bridge in the preceding 24 hours.

For months, the defense attorneys had filed pre-trial motions to prevent the four statements from being allowed into evidence since all four men declared they were false. The "confessions" testified that their requests to consult an attorney had been repeatedly refused, third-degree methods had been used, their families had been threatened, informers had been planted in their cells, and



Committee for Miners photo

**FRAME-UP VICTIMS.** Indicted Kentucky miners, including Berman Gibson (fourth from left, second row), at courthouse with attorneys Dan Jack Combs, Paul O'Dwyer and I. Philip Sipser (front, left to right). At right in second row is Hamish Sinclair, field director of Committee for Miners.

three had been induced to waive the right to an examining hearing, and bail of \$25,000 each was excessive.

Judge Neace, however, permitted the introduction of the "confessions," leaving the decision as to their voluntariness to the jury.

Attorney Paul O'Dwyer's cross-examination of the FBI agents furnished the most dramatic moments of the trial. While testifying, several agents consulted notes taken at the time of the investigation but unknown to the defense even though in a long pre-trial battle it had secured an order allowing it to see all evidence material (under the Jencks ruling). Showing that the materials now being used by the FBI agents had been wilfully withheld from the defense, O'Dwyer called for a mistrial.

Questioned about the four signed "confessions," the FBI agents admitted that two of the signers were totally illiterate, while the other two had only the ability to read and write at a third-grade level. Asked to explain the presence in these statements of well-turned literary phrases and legal formulations, the agents admitted that they had composed the statements allegedly from notes they had made during interviews with the defendants. A request to see these notes brought a series of evasions. The judge thereupon ordered a search of the files in the FBI's Louisville office, but to no avail. The notes, it seems, had been destroyed.

The reference by the FBI agents to still further notes unknown to the defense plus evasive answers and conflicts in their testimony, finally led the exasperated judge to issue a bench warrant for the FBI regional director to appear and instruct his agents to give straightforward answers to questions.

One FBI agent subsequently interjected extraneous and prejudicial material in an attempt to rebut a newspaper article about the trial. While the judge denied a motion for a mistrial, he reprimanded the agent for "near contempt of court."

A second blunder was soon committed by FBI agent Bernard Cashdollar who dragged into his testimony the statement that a defendant had shot the Hazard police captain. O'Dwyer immediately demanded a mistrial because of this "deliberate attempt to prejudice the jury." The prosecutor declared he had no in-

cluding Cashdollar would make such a statement. The judge again issued a bench warrant for the FBI regional head. To him he declared that his former awe respect for the FBI had been shattered. "Your agents have volunteered information that is unfit for this jury to hear," he said, ordering that they be immediately directed to desist. He also announced he was writing J. Edgar Hoover about the whole matter.

Summarizing the government's case, Prosecutor Noble attacked the defense for having attempted a trial of the coal operators and the government. "Of course the statements were given voluntarily," he said. What he had depicted at the beginning of the trial as a criminal act by a brazen gang who paraded through Hazard in a motor convoy en route to the scene of the crime, he now painted as a conspiracy hatched in secrecy by the master plotter, Gibson.

Summing up for the defense, O'Dwyer pointed to the presence of Coal Operators' Association spokesman, Paul Tayloe, at the onset of the investigation. "There was indeed a conspiracy afoot," O'Dwyer said. "A conspiracy to get Gibson. The preparation for this plot was made in the L&N office, with Tayloe and Yancey [L&N chief investigator] calling the shots."

Before charging the jury, Judge Neace dismissed the case against defendant Britt Baker for lack of evidence. After 12 hours, the jury acquitted defendants Adam Huff and Tommy Allan Combs. They found the four "confessors," Herbert Stacey, Clayton Turner, Charles Engle and Bige Hensley, guilty. The jury deadlocked, at ten-to-two for acquittal on Berman Gibson. The sentences for the four convicted men range from four to six years.

The consensus among the defense attorneys is that all four convictions would very likely be reversed in the first appeals court. Moreover, barring new evidence, the retrial of Gibson could be based on nothing more than his car's presence on a highway near the bridge. Judge Neace's rulings made the "confessions" inadmissible as evidence against anyone but their signatories.

Plans for the appeals and defense of Gibson are being made by the Committee for Miners, 1165 Broadway, New York 1, N.Y. Though attorneys O'Dwyer and Sipser continue to serve without fee, expenses are still heavy. Contributions are needed.

## World Events

## White Man to Lose Burden

British negotiators have refused to cancel a 75-year-old claim of the British South African Co. (founded by that personification of imperialism, Cecil Rhodes) to virtually all the mineral rights in the copper-rich territory of Northern Rhodesia, which is scheduled to become the independent nation of Zambia on Oct. 24.

The claim is based on an 1890 "agreement" signed by a tribal

chief. The company has already collected some \$230 million in royalties on exploited minerals; they presently run above \$35 million a year.

"No African chief gave or could have given all our natural resources," declared Arthur Wina, finance minister in the African nationalist government. He added that a speedy referendum after independence would correct the situation.

## New Dispute in Cuba?

Juan de Onis, the New York Times' man in Havana, reported Oct. 9 that a new flare-up of differences had occurred between old-line Cuban Communist Party members and revolutionists who came from the July 26 Movement. The clash reportedly occurred at a five-day national congress of the Cuban Revolutionary Confederation of Labor.

De Onis reported that Jose Maria de la Aguilera, head of the bank workers' union and former July 26 official, had criticized "waste" and "spendthrift" attitudes in the use of funds. The secretary general of the confederation, Lazaro Peña, a prominent old-time CP leader, countered that expenditures were justified by "the new responsibilities" of the organization. According to de Onis, old-time Communists, who dominate the leadership of the Cuban unions, attacked de la Aguilera as a "petit bourgeois" and a "bureaucrat," and the delegates voted to approve Peña's report.

## TB Ravages African Children

Fifty per cent of African children are tubercular at the age of

ten, reported Dr. C. J. H. Brink, director of hospital services in the Orange Free State, at a meeting of the South African National Tuberculosis Association in Bloemfontein last June. The reason, he said, is malnutrition.

## Nicaraguans Protest Treaty

The Nicaraguan Congress voted Oct. 6 to repudiate the 1916 Bryan-Chamorro treaty — passed while U.S. Marines were in that country — which grants the U.S. perpetual rights to build a canal through Nicaraguan territory. That tame legislators under U.S.-backed dictator Somoza should take such a step today is an indication of the extent of independence sentiment in Latin America.

## Filipinos Protest Treaty

A thousand young Filipinos marched in Manila Oct. 2 to protest before the U.S. Embassy for fairer trade relations with the U.S. They carried signs reading "Parity is Poverty," "Down with Neocolonialism," and "Uncle Sam Be Fair."

Under the so-called "parity" clauses of the treaty granting the Philippines independence after World War II, special rights were accorded U.S. investors, to "stimulate" investment. A young Filipino newsman asserted that many young people there are "now convinced that these clauses were forced through your Congress by lobbies for big American companies who wanted to go on exploiting our markets."

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# Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

## Union Meeting

Minneapolis, Minn.  
A couple of tidbits of news for those interested in union matters: At a recent meeting of the Amalgamated Lithographers here, a member stood up from the floor

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

"The wave of bombings of Negro homes continues throughout the country . . .

"But a new pattern has emerged in Louisville, Kentucky . . .

"Last May Andrew Wade . . . bought a home in a white area . . . When the Wades moved in the racist elements in the area were furious. The next night a fiery cross was burned nearby, rocks were thrown through the windows and six shots were fired into the house.

"When the police arrived they showed where they stood by arresting Wade and a friend. With no confidence in police protection, Wade and his friends, a number of them white, organized a guard to watch the house at night. . . .

"On June 27, despite the guard, a bomb shattered a wall and porch of the Wade home. District Attorney Scott Hamilton and the Grand Jury went right to work on the case, investigating — not the racist bombers but Wade's friends. Their houses were raided without warrant. 'Subversive' literature was found and pictures of it displayed on the front pages of the newspapers. Their 'subversive' connections with the Progressive Party, NAACP, and other organizations pried into by the Grand Jury. . . .

"Over Wade's protests Brown [one of Wade's guards] has been indicted for the bombing and five other white friends of Wade's have been indicted for sedition . . ." — Oct. 18, 1954.

## 20 Years Ago

"The capitalist ruling class of the State of Florida last week pulled the Raiford State Prison electrocution switch to murder 16 Negro youths, James Davis, 16, Freddy Lee Lane, 19, and James Williams, 26. It was a streamlined job of legal lynching.

"First, there was the hue and cry that a white woman had been 'raped.' Then, there was the quick seizure of three Negroes — the first three who came along. A little 'encouragement' with fists, boots, rubber hose and clubs extorted the usual 'confessions.'

"Strictly legal' was the motto. On August 31 there was a 'trial.' No other Negroes were present. No jury. It was held in secret session before a Judge and 20 selected white spectators. Florida law says that's legal, when you have a 'confession.'

"Outside the courthouse a mob gathered. 'Order' was preserved by the militia, whose commander reassured the 'defenders of southern white womanhood' that 'justice' would be done. He pronounced the verdict in advance: 'They will be electrocuted.' The 'trial,' from the entrance of the judge to pronouncement of the death sentence, took less than 80 minutes." — Oct. 21, 1944.

and attacked Hubert Humphrey. The brother could not see why labor should support a man who promises to work for labor in Congress but voted for the Landrum-Griffin Act. He was cheered by most of the several hundred members present.

At a later point in the meeting, the president of the local urged the membership not to question Donald Frazer, the Democratic-Farmer Labor candidate for Congress in the Third District, about his stand in support of the controversial Taconite Amendment. The union member who had expressed himself so vigorously earlier in the meeting stood up again and demanded to know why we shouldn't ask Frazer why he's supporting the Taconite Amendment. The amendment, if passed, would write into the state constitution an assurance of tax concessions to the new taconite industry in the state. The Minnesota AFL-CIO, as well as both the Republican and D.F.L parties have lined up for it. The Minneapolis Central Labor Union has gone on record against it.

Reader

## They Want It Both Ways

Orange, Calif.

Out here in California in the November election we are going to be faced with a state constitutional amendment to repeal all fair-housing laws in the state.

Some of the same people who created this problem, that is the capitalistic landowners, are trying to get this amendment passed, and at the same time are as busy as bees creating another problem — that is they still want the right to import farm labor. The problems this creates for the domestic workers doesn't faze the capitalists one bit.

But let any dark-skinned person be bold enough to insist on his right to buy a home, the capitalists says, "No, that is an invasion of my property rights! I have the right to sell to whomever I want. But the buyer doesn't have any rights."

But when the capitalist is buying labor it is a different story. If he can't buy it on his terms, he wants and gets the right to import it. That — to the capitalist — is free enterprise.

Carl A. Gregory

## New Dimension on Rights

Detroit, Mich.

An article which appeared in the *New York Times* and was reprinted in several other newspapers states that Malcolm X is trying to add a new dimension to the Negro struggle for freedom in the United States by internationalizing the Negro question before the United Nations. He is attempting to do this by convincing African nations to raise the question of Negro persecution in the U.S. in the same manner that the South African *apartheid* was transferred into an international problem.

We agree with Malcolm that the Negro question in the U.S. is not a question of civil rights but of human rights and that until the Negro achieves his rights as a human being the rights of all human beings are violated.

We, the members of the Independent Negro Committee to End Racism and Ban the Bomb, are urging you and other individuals to contact immediately either by letter or petition the heads of state

of the African nations to bring the brutal transgression of Negro rights as human beings before the United Nations. It is important that you act immediately before the General Assembly meets in October.

The more letters and petitions regarding this issue, the more they will realize the urgency to bring the Afro-American problem before the United Nations. We must impress upon them the tremendous concern of every person dedicated to human rights for all people.

It is important that the letters and/or petitions be sent to the heads of state such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, because they are the ones who direct their delegates at the UN as to what action to take. Below we have listed some of the African states to whom you can write. Other addresses may be obtained by writing to the UN or by referring to your library. Please let us know if you do respond to this call, by either sending us a copy of your letter or just a note saying you have taken such action.

Heads of state are: Kwame Nkrumah, Accra, Ghana; Dr. H. Kama Zu Bamba, Blantyre, Malawi; Sir Abu Bakar Balewa, Lagos, Nigeria; Sekou Touré, Conakry, Guinea; Alphonse Massamba Debat, Brazzaville, Rep. of Congo; Leopold Sedar Senghor, Dakar, Senegal; Albert M. Margai, Free Town, Sierra Leone; Ibrahim Ab-

boud, Khartoum, Republic of Sudan; A. H. Hussein, Mogadishu, Somali Republic; Hamani Biori, Niamey, Niger; Dr. Julius Nyerere, Daressalaam, Tanganyika; P. T. A. Habte-Wold, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; Philbert Tsiranana, Tananarive, Malagasy Republic; Nicolas Grunitzky, Lomé, Republic of Togo.

Gwendolyn Mallett,  
Chairman  
3303 Sturtevant,  
Detroit 6, Mich.

## For DeBerry and Shaw

New York, N.Y.

The large bodies of white workers, who now show the effects of the decades upon decades of racist indoctrination poured liberally upon them by the powers-that-be, can and will learn much from the militant struggles of their black fellows workers.

This fact is totally incomprehensible to the labor statesman, "respectable and responsible" civil-rights officials and the large number of liberal, social-democrat and used-to-be radical elements. Their failure to appreciate or to understand the needs of the Negro people is evidence of (and cannot be separated from) their failure to understand the needs of the white workers.

While, as a white worker, I can appreciate the advantage of my position in relation to that of a

Negro's in this society, I can also find much in common with him and therefore support his drives for total freedom seeing therein the fulfillment of my own needs as a human being.

To a lesser extent at this time white workers, especially young people, suffer the frustrations from lack of jobs to be had. Our rents are high and our homes suffer from infestation and age. The lack of medical services depletes the modest savings that can be realized with the cost of living and the inadequate salaries. The almost total impossibility to further one's education, cultural abilities and future planning, due to the type of society given to working people in this "golden age," leads to the total demoralization of many.

For these reasons I am supporting the only candidates who put forth a program with meaning for a continuing society. The Socialist Workers Party may not win with DeBerry and Shaw but they certainly provide the only choice open for those who are serious in wanting a better world. The major candidates provide no choice but just an echo of what we have been given in the past, war, poverty, racism, disease and total cynicism towards the overwhelming majority of the people.

I may have to work for them to make a living but I'll be damned if I'll vote for them.

Bill Hart

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Reassurances from Goldwater** — Goldwater says he thinks "we will never engage in a nuclear war, and even if we got into war, I don't think the Russians or ourselves would be stupid enough to devastate cities we couldn't afford to rebuild." If building costs dropped, would the Senator change his mind?

**Cuban Humor** — *New York Times* correspondent Juan de Onis reports from Havana that Cubans ease the strain of daily life by poking fun at the Revolution's leaders. After recounting some current jokes, he writes: "These stories circulate as freely among people active in the regime as they do among so-called 'worms,' or opponents, of the revolution. They illustrate a sense of buoyancy and an irreverence toward the leadership that are characteristic of Cuban individuality." Funny how this "individuality" can express itself freely in what the *Times* contends is a "totalitarian" state.

**Dirty Word** — Racist school officials in Philadelphia, Miss., suspended 45 Negro pupils for coming to school wearing buttons bearing a single word — "Freedom." Officials said it wasn't "educational."

**Where's the Cat?** — Eugenia Sheppard, *New York Herald Tribune* women's feature editor — who we rely on to keep us hep on the latest fashions — discloses that among the current crop of ladies who count it's only squares who don't wear furs indoors. She advises: "Just run down to Bergdorf Goodman, dear reader, and order a pair of . . . fur breeches custom made. They come in mink, ermine or sable, but I always think Russian sable is a wee bit the most casual nowadays. Or, if

your legs aren't good, play cagey and order the breeches in satin with a sleeveless sable sweater."

**Cops at Work** — Ten members of the 59-man police force in Bristol, Conn., have resigned or been suspended. They have been charged with operating as a shop-looting ring for the past seven years. Night-shift patrolmen would either find shops with doors left unlocked or jimmy them open. The police lieutenant on duty would be called to the scene, according to the charges, and his car would be used to carry off goods from the shop. The take would then be divided up among the member of the gang.

**How-Silly-Can-You-Get Dep't** — *The Worker*, voice of the Communist Party, tries to combine assertions that it isn't supporting Johnson with rather heavy-handed efforts to whitewash Democratic warmongering. Example: James Reston of the *New York Times* disclosed that members of the Johnson administration were considering the idea of provoking an "incident" in Tonking Gulf. The Oct. 6 *Worker* responded with this bit of political nonsense: "These disclosures raise questions concerning the existence of a Goldwater-ultra-right fifth column . . .

one of Barry Goldwater's closest political advisers recently wrote a book which boasted that all that was needed to win control anywhere was to have one or two . . . infiltrators in the opposition." We hear that Lyndon Johnson, who ordered the bombing of North Vietnam, is a member of the Goldwater fifth column.

**They'll Learn Her** — Mrs. Jessie D. Moore, a cafeteria cook in the Dallas, Texas, public school system, has a 16-year-old son who suffered an injury in a fall which has slowed down his learning capability and created emotional problems. The family is paying \$135 a month to send him to a private school. Mrs. Moore wrote a letter to the *Dallas Times Herald* suggesting that the public school system should organize special classes for students with such handicaps. Dallas school authorities responded promptly to the letter. They fired Mrs. Moore from her cook's job.

**Your Tax Dollar** — Government auditors say Air Force wasted \$1.8 million in the leasing of trucks for the use of the Boeing Corp. at U.S. missile sites. The figure cited is the amount by which the rental charges exceeded what it would have cost to buy the trucks in the first place.

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## Thought for the Week

"By the 1960s, few enough American intellectuals had it within them to be ashamed that their discovery of the 'betrayal' of the Cuban Revolution by Castro just happened to coincide with the change of heart of official American government policy." — Playwright Lorraine Hansberry, discussing her new play, "The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window," in the Oct. 11 *New York Times*.



## Cops in New York Kill Another Puerto Rican

NEW YORK, Oct. 12 — New York City police have shot another Puerto Rican. This time, Eugene Forestier, 30, was shot dead Oct. 11 by Detective John Kelly in Forestier's apartment in upper Manhattan. The victim's mother, Mrs. Sinforsosa Forestier says her son was handcuffed when he was shot.

According to the police, Mrs. Forestier herself turned in a complaint against her son, charging that he had stolen money from her purse. Police said she later denied her son had stolen the money. She confessed that she had made up the story because she was desperate about her son's narcotic habit and thought a jail term would enable him to break it.

In any case, detectives Patrick Twomey and Kelly arrived at the Forestier apartment Oct. 11 to arrest the young man on the robbery charge. Mrs. Forestier said the two cops took her son from his bed, handcuffed him and beat him. When she objected she was pushed out the door, she said, and heard her son cry: "Mama! Help me, Mama! They're killing me." Then she heard the shot which killed her son.

The detectives tell a slightly different story. They claim Forestier grabbed the handcuffs before they were closed on his wrists and swung them at Kelly who then drew his gun which "discharged as a result of the struggle."

Meanwhile, Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm has admitted that another Puerto Rican victim of a cop's bullets was an innocent victim of "mistaken identity." The victim, 22-year-old Gregory Cruz, was shot three times Sept. 9 by Detective John



C. Devlin. Devlin was "staked out" in a trap for a mugging suspect when he stopped Cruz who happened by. According to witnesses, the plainclothes cop failed to identify himself but proceeded to search and beat Cruz with his fists. When Cruz, who thought he was being attacked by a deranged person, resisted and ran, the cop shot him. Cruz was arrested, charged with assaulting the cop with a pair of pliers, and placed in a hospital prison ward.

Cruz, however, was well known in his Lower East Side neighborhood as a "good, quiet boy" and a Bible student. An investigation was begun and eye-witnesses came forth who challenged the police report of the incident. Devlin was suspended for "excessive use of force," and after a month Cruz was transferred to an unguarded bed to recover from bullet wounds in the stomach, arm and leg. Doctors say the youth may never use his arm again.

## Got Hung Up With State Dept.

# The Gov't vs. Thorsten Krebs

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — Thorsten Krebs, who celebrates his sixth birthday on Oct. 29, enjoys the unique, if dubious, distinction of being America's youngest victim of reactionary federal regulations.

On Aug. 14 at Kennedy International Airport, Thorsten was handed a letter from Abba P. Schwartz, Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs of the U.S. State Department. It officially advised Thorsten that his passport was withdrawn. It explained: "This action is based upon information that you recently traveled to Cuba in violation of the restrictions contained in Public Notice 179."

A postage-free envelope was enclosed for his convenience in returning the passport. He was further advised that he could, if he wished, appeal the decision.

On what basis Thorsten can appeal is not clear. He did go to Cuba in violation of the travel-ban but it wasn't his own deliberate act of defiance. His parents, Allen and Sharon, were among the 84 young Americans who decided to go to Cuba this summer in defiance of the ban. They wanted to test the legality of the curb on freedom of travel and they wanted to see for themselves what Cuba is really like. And, as they usually do when they go somewhere, they took Thorsten along.

However, if Thorsten does appeal he can't claim in good conscience that he went against his will. And he certainly enjoyed the trip. In fact, as the youngest of the group of young Americans on the tour he was something of a celebrity and attracted a good bit of attention from Cuban newsmen,

photographers and radio interviewers.

When they arrived at the airport, a Radio Havana reporter spotted him and quickly put a mike in front of him. Thorsten, an articulate young man, declared: "Hello, Cuban kids." Asked what he wanted to see in Cuba, he promptly declared, "The zoo."

Thorsten, who recently lived for two years with his parents in



Harry Ring

Thorsten Krebs

## It Pays a Big 65 Cents a Day

# Saigon Labor Hits U.S.-Owned Sweatshop

By George Saunders

As the mood of militant protest spreads among Saigon workers, it is significant that an American-owned company, financed by the U.S. "aid" mission in South Vietnam, has emerged as the central target of the workers' protests.

The Vimytex company, which operates a large textile plant on the outskirts of Saigon, first came into the news when workers' grievances against it became the immediate issue of the Sept. 21-22 general strike. That strike marked the entry of the mass of Saigon workers onto the political stage for the first time in all the years of the Diem dictatorship, the civil war and U.S. intervention.

### Lock Out

Vimytex had locked out 1,500 of its 2,000 employees in the wake of dictator Khanh's Aug. 7 proclamation of a state of emergency. The emergency decrees, among other things, prohibited strikes. In the turbulent atmosphere following demonstrations late in August, which briefly knocked Gen. Khanh out of power, the working class of Saigon took up the cause of the Vimytex workers.

The rank-and-file workers of the city forced the leaders of the Vietnam Confederation of Labor (CVT) to call the general strike. In the face of this action, Vimytex backed down and agreed to rehire the locked-out workers. But when the strike was called off, Vimytex backtracked, refusing to hire some 200 employees, including the union leaders in the plant.

When CVT officials reluctantly called for new demonstrations, Khanh stepped in hard on the company's side, warning that he would use troops against any "threats to public order."

Meanwhile, the U.S. embassy in

## Saigon Unionists Visit Official

Rank-and-file Saigon unionists demonstrated they mean business about re-establishing their rights when three hundred marched with clubs, crowbars and shovels on the office of Nguyen Khanh Van, secretary general of the Vietnam Labor Union. They charged he was a stooge of the late, hated tyrant Diem and that he had sold out the union. Van held off the unionists by pulling the pin on a hand grenade and holding it aloft. Police finally removed him from the building in a truck and the unionists marched into the headquarters.

Saigon became increasingly disturbed as the U.S.-owned company became the symbol of anti-labor practices to Saigon's union movement. Embassy officials applied peacemaking pressures. The company agreed to rehire the union leaders, although CVT officials complained it gave no commitment in writing. But U.S. officials were hopeful that the dispute had ended "without an explosive march through the streets."

### Special Privileges

Whatever the dispute's outcome, however, it brought to light many facts about the special privileges American big business is getting in South Vietnam while American GIs die in the jungles.

Vimytex was organized with the

backing of the Ngo Dinh Diem government and the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID). Diem's government granted the company liberal investment conditions and tax exemptions. AID officials in Saigon made favorable arrangements for the company's import of American textile machinery. The U.S. Operations Mission (USOM), which handles U.S. economic and technical "aid," to South Vietnam, loaned Vimytex \$6 million for new machinery, the most modern looms available. Vimytex is now the largest textile producer in South Vietnam.

### U.S. Investors

Vimytex is typical of the "American-Vietnam" mixed companies created by U.S. "aid." Tax dollars from the public treasury are used to pave the way for private investment. Supposedly, Vietnamese capital must by law control 51 percent of such a company. But in fact, big U.S. investors — whose investments in "friendly" countries AID regularly arranges — are able to obtain majority control.

U.S. "aid" provides other advantages for American investors in Vietnam. Vimytex, for example, gets U.S. surplus cotton cheaply — our taxes paying the price subsidies on it. U.S. capital also benefits from Vietnam's cheap labor and the U.S.-supported dictatorship to keep it in line.

Vimytex hires mostly girls. It houses them in barracks, feeds them in a company cafeteria, and pays them all of 65¢ a day. There, on the outskirts of Saigon, is a classical U.S. company town. Is it any wonder so many Vietnamese are fighting the U.S. version of "democracy?"

## Michigan Socialist Candidates Widely Heard on TV, Radio

DETROIT — Socialist Workers Party candidates here for Congress and state office have been granted a total of five hours free radio and TV time up to Oct. 12. About half of this time has gone to Frank Lovell, candidate for governor. Stations in over ten cities, including Battle Creek, Ann Arbor, Lansing and Grand Rapids, have allotted him time.

Jan Garrett, SWP candidate for Secretary of State, in a radio broadcast in Battle Creek said: "As the person empowered to grant licenses for motor vehicles and motor-vehicle dealers, the Secretary should refuse licenses to all auto dealers who fail to hire Negro employees at wages equal with whites and in such numbers as to correspond to the ratio of Negroes to whites in the population of the city or town where the dealer is located."

### Publish Laws

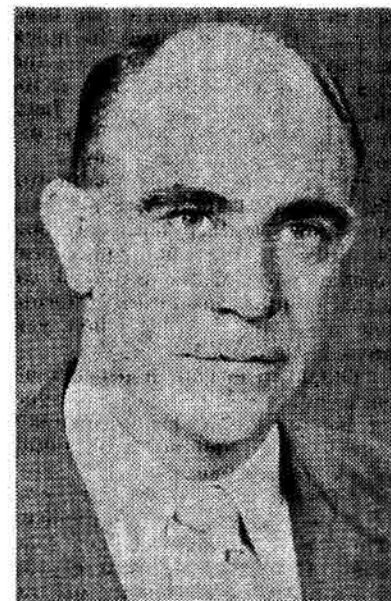
"As regulator of savings and loans associations . . . he should see that working people who borrow money don't have to pay any more interest than is necessary to pay the clerical employees of the savings and loan association. As official in charge of state publication, he should compile and publish, in clear, simple, understandable form, those oppressive anti-labor laws which are still on the Michigan books . . . with helpful suggestions as to how the working people can organize and campaign to get them nullified or repealed."

"A vote for the SWP Michigan candidates is more than a vote to have mostly technical jobs done well. It is a vote against an entire system which throws millions out of jobs the world around, which slaughters the colored millions now rising up in Asia, Africa and

Latin America, which brings us to the brink of annihilation with invasions of Cuba and aggressions against Vietnam. Unless this system is abolished, there will be nothing but nuclear ashes to administer."

Robert Fink, SWP candidate for Attorney General said: "Instead of prosecuting working people, the unemployed and minority groups, who in most cases are driven to petty illegal acts by the exploitation and oppression they suffer, I would show them sympathy and understanding."

Henry Austin, a steelworker and SWP candidate for Congress from the 16th District, said in a brief speech over Detroit television that workers need their own representatives in Congress, their own party to represent them.



Frank Lovell